

To the Friends of the Union Throughout the Union.

I.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

Maintenance of the Union, as you so well know, has recently been very seriously endangered. What were the causes which had led to this and how our Union is now again most seriously menaced, I propose here to show, as follows:—

Throughout the quarter century preceding the rebellion northern leaders of that political party which, while holding that "the negro had no rights which a white man need respect," then, as now, styled itself the democratic one, were incessant in their efforts at impressing upon the minds of their slave holding friends, that so indispensable to the free free States was their commerce with the South that Southern demands, howsoever offensive, must be complied with; separation being certain to be followed by such a scene of ruin throughout the North that grass would grow in the streets of all its cities.

Prior to the rebellion those leaders gave assurance to the South that any attempt at coercion would provoke such resistance at the North that blood would flow in all streets.

Having thus stimulated the South to a course of action that could have no result other than that of secession, every attempt at such coercion was, throughout the war that followed, met at the North with earnest resistance on the part of all those leaders, the movement culminating at the moment when Southern armies had penetrated into the heart of Pennsylvania; and when, had the Union forces failed at Gettysburg, New York city would promptly have been handed over by its authorities to occupation by confederate armies; Jefferson Davis then at once finding his seat of government transferred to the White House at Washington.

Happily the result proved widely different from that which had been anticipated when State officials were tacitly sanctioning, even when not actively urging, movements which so almost instantly thereafter led to that establishment of mob law, that murder of unoffending republicans, and that destruction of school houses, which marked in

New York city the first half of July, 1863.

Since then the actors in those and other atrocities have been among their most active agents in the North, men like to those who recently have so much distinguished themselves in the Hamburg massacre, having meanwhile acted in like capacity throughout the South. Such, my fellow citizens, being the associates and agents of the men in whom it is now proposed to vest the power so lately exercised by Lincoln and Stanton, Seward and Chase, it has seemed to me that I might, without impropriety, ask your attention to the fact that the platform upon which the Confederates are now to stand, and upon which, if opportunity be afforded, they certainly will stand, looks to the establishment of a course of action precisely similar to that which had so nearly led to permanent disruption of the Union; and and, which, if now readopted, must inevitable at no distant date lead to that result. To that end I ask your attention to a brief statement of facts by which the rebellion had been preceded, as follows:—

In October 1857, when each successive steamer was bringing to Americans abroad advice of the failure of banks and bankers, merchants and manufactures, I had a conversation with Mr. Dallas, then our representative at the Court of St. James, in the course of which he asked as to when the Capitol was likely to be completed. "Just about the time," said I in reply, "when the Union will be dissolved." "Why," said he in return, "is it likely to be dissolved?" "Certainly!" was my reply, "Nothing can stand against the solvent properties and powers of the tariff of 1846. It would ruin any country similarly situated with our own." To this, he had but little reply to make. The subject was unpleasant, he having given the casting vote in favor of that tariff, and having done so in defiance of repeated pledges given by himself, and by leaders of the party then in close alliance with free traders of the South, that Mr. Polk would prove a far better protectionist than Mr. Clay himself.

Three years later my prophecy came to be realized. How I had been led to make it I propose now to show, hoping that you

may be led to see that as the democratic and southern free trade policy had then, necessarily, led to disruption of the Union, a readoption of that policy cannot fail to be followed by reproduction of scenes as disastrous as those which exhibited themselves in the period from 1860 to 1865, when free traders of both North and South were so vigorously co-operating with each other in the hope of rendering disunion permanent.

Throughout the quarter century by which rebellion had been preceded the commercial policy of the country, with exception of the brief and brilliant period of the protective tariff of 1842, had been that of British free trade. For our iron we were required to look to Britain, wholly neglecting the wonderful resources of our Central and Southern States. For our cloth we were required to look to Britain, allowing our coal to remain idle in the ground, and our wonderful water powers to run to waste. The West was made to send its food, and the South its cotton, to Liverpool, which thus was constituted the great centre at which alone the people of the Union were to be allowed to make exchanges among themselves. As a consequence of this there was then, almost literally, no North and South commerce, all our great lines of road leading eastward, and our commerce with the world at large being carried on by aid of British ships, British traders, British bankers, and British manufacturers, thereby subjecting our people to a taxation wholly unprecedented in the history of commerce.

As a further consequence of this, the construction of Northern and Southern roads, by means of which the Union might be held together as "by hooks of steel," was so entirely out of the question that when it had been proposed to construct the Illinois Central Road it was found that no progress could be made without the aid of enormous grants of public land. It was as then was said, a Northern and Southern road, and could not be made to pay. Internal commerce had, therefore, so slight existence that the transportation of merchandise by railroad, in the year before the rebellion, amounted to but nine-tenths of a ton per head of the population.

Limited, as our people almost absolutely were, to the destructive work of scratching out the soil and sending it to foreign markets, the great mass of immigration from abroad, and of emigration from Eastern States, sought the Northwest, avoiding the great mineral States of the centre. In like manner, the surplus population of the Northern slave States, leaving untouched those wonderful mineral resources of Virginia which are among the most remarkable of the world, was sent to Georgia, Ala-

bama, and other States of the extreme South; the direct effect of all this exhibiting itself in a constant increase of weight at the extremities of the Union, and a total absence of those commercial or fraternal relations by means of which the Union might be held together. From year to year, as a still further consequence, alienation increased, until the time arrived for giving us a rebellion, with loss of hundreds of thousands of lives and thousands of millions of property, no part of which would have been incurred had the Democratic party adhered to its pledges that Mr. Polk should be found a better tariff man than Mr. Clay; or had Mr. Dallas adhered to his assurances that he himself should be always found favoring American interests, and always opposed to that British free-trade policy to which we had stood indebted for the calamitous period from 1838 to 1842, when the public credit had so entirely disappeared that not a dollar could be borrowed in any of the financial marts of Europe.

II

Early in May, 1861, the facts above exhibited were placed before President Lincoln, with a view toward exhibiting some of the obstacles to be encountered in carrying on the war, and of showing how, in a great degree, they might be overcome. In the course of our conversation he was asked as to "what it was that even then held the Union together? Was it not the Mississippi?" "Yes," said he, "that is the cross-tie." "Well, then," as I continued, "if you had an iron cross-tie down the Valley and through the mountain region to Alabama and the Gulf, and another from the Ohio through East Tennessee to Charleston and Savannah, do you think it would be possible to dissolve the Union?" "No," said he, "it would then be entirely impossible." Had he been able to satisfy the friends about him of the correctness of the conclusions at which he that day arrived, such roads would have long since been made, giving value to both land and labor, and producing a feeling of brotherhood throughout the Union that would have tended from hour to hour to render it more entirely impossible that disunionists, Northern or Southern, should ever again return to power.

Looking as he then did at the relations of the several parts of our common country, all his energies throughout his second term would assuredly have been given to the promotion of internal commerce, his high appreciation of which had been, on the occasion to which I have referred, so clearly manifested. His death was, therefore, a grievous loss to the Union at large. Nevertheless, the the national policy having been

still maintained, very much has since been done in that direction, Northern and Southern lines of road having been since constructed and cotton now finding its way to Northern markets by means of roads that enable the people of the South and Southwest to maintain a commerce among themselves such as before they had never known.* Less than a year hence, as we are told, the great road by means of which Georgia, Florida, and the Carolinas are to be enabled to maintain direct communication with the great Northwest, will be opened in its whole extent thereby tying together two great sections of our common country, and giving throughout such intercourse as cannot fail to be the means of harmonizing, to a great extent, not only the commercial but the social relations of men who, but a few years since, were in arms against each other.

At the opening of the war, fifteen years since, there were 30,000 miles of railroad in operation and the merchandise transported amounted to 30,000,000 tons, giving, passengers included, as gross earnings, \$39,000,000 or little more than \$1.25 per head of the population. To-day, under a system which looks to development of that internal commerce by means of which alone can the Union be maintained, we have more than 70,000 miles of road; no less than 3000 having been constructed in the past year depressing as the times have been. The merchandise transported amounts to 200,000,000 tons, or five times as many per head as were carried at the close of the last revenue tariff period in 1860. The receipts, those from passengers included, now exceed \$500,000,000, the growth having thus been more than 1200 per cent.; that of population, meanwhile, not having reached even 50 per cent.

It may be thought, however, that this increase of railroad tonnage had been attended by decrease in other modes of transportation. Directly the reverse, there has been such increase in river and coasting tonnage, such gain in speed resulting from the substitution of steam for sails, and such increase of carrying power compared with measurement, as to warrant the belief that the transport by water has increased in the last fifteen years at a rate considerably more rapid than that of population.

III

Throughout the last half century the mission of the anti-Democratic party, under its several names, has been that of carrying the nation upward toward that position in the world at large to which its wonderful resources so well entitle it to make a claim. That such has been the fact; and that, on the contrary, the mission of the Democratic

and pro-slavery party has been mainly that of rending asunder and pulling down, it is proposed now to show, as follows:—

The administration of Mr. Adams gave us, in 1828, a thoroughly protective tariff by means of which there was brought about a state of prosperity unparalleled in the world, attended by total extinction of the public debt. Under his Democratic successors all was changed. Banks, bankers, merchants, and manufacturers were ruined, and so utterly had the public credit disappeared that neither at home nor abroad was the Tyler administration able to effect a loan to the miserable extent of \$10,000,000.

Anti-Democracy gave us the tariff of 1842 by means of which the country was once again, in the short period of five years, carried upward to that admirable position in which it had stood in 1832. So great was the change then produced in the South—just when, by the tariff of '46, the ax had been laid to the root of the cotton manufacture and of Southern prosperity—that the editor of *Charleston Mercury* asserted that “within ten years the South would have ceased to export raw cotton.” Had the protective policy of that period been retained—had the tariff of 1842 been allowed to continue in existence—the South and the Southwest would long ere this have been filled with factories and furnaces; land would have tenfold increased in value; the negro would gradually and quietly, with profit to all, have been working his way steadily toward freedom; and THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO REBELLION.

Carrying into practical effect the mission of the so-called Democratic party Messrs. Polk and Dallas, who had arrived at high office by means of the cry of “Polk, Dallas, and the tariff of '42,” annihilated the good work that by their opponents had been done; giving us once again a commercial system under which Liverpool was again to become the Exchange at which Americans were to be permitted by foreign masters to make exchange among themselves; a course of proceeding resulting in a war whose cost in lives counted by hundreds of thousand, and in dollars by thousands of millions.

True to its constructive instincts the Republican party has now for fifteen years been engaged in developing and building up those internal connections by means of which the men of all sections are to be brought into harmonious relations with each other—iron rails meantime being brought to cross and re-cross each other in all directions, and tying together the North and the South, the East and the West—giving us, as indeed it has already given, a domestic commerce without parallel in the world. True, in like manner to its destructive instincts,

the Democratic party had no sooner attained supremacy in the Lower House of Congress than its committees set to work to tear to pieces all that thus far had been done, presenting a revenue tariff prepared by foreign agents and meant to bring about, once again, the state of things that had so nearly led to total destruction of that Union by aid of no less than 45,000,000 of people have been gathered together into a single nation, enjoying, notwithstanding the present depression, an ease and comfort utterly unknown elsewhere throughout the world.

Destructive always, that party, on a survey of the last forty years, can point to nothing in the way of construction outside of a war with Mexico and a war among themselves. That construction is not now to be attempted; that, on the contrary, the work of destruction is, in the event of its political success, to be continued, is clearly to be seen in that portion of the new Confederate platform given below as follows:—

“We denounce the present tariff, levied upon nearly four thousand articles, as a master-piece of injustice inequality and false pretence. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising, revenue. It has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labor. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank upon the high seas. It has cut down the sales of American manufacturers at home and abroad, and depleted the returns of American agriculture, an industry followed by half our people. It costs the people five times more than it produces to the Treasury; obstructs the processes of production, and wastes the fruits of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all Custom house taxation shall be only for revenue.”

For answer to this rodomontade, and in proof of the utter falsity of the assertions by aid of which the policy of destruction and disunion is now proposed to be reinaugurated, look, I pray you, to the fact that our commerce by railroad alone, constituting scarcely a tithe of its total amount, is now given by the highest authority at TEN THOUSAND MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. For further answer look to the figures here below given representing our domestic ex-

ports, and satisfy yourselves that it is precisely as we make our own iron, and our own cottons and woollens, we are enabled to become larger customers to the various nations of the earth.

In the fourteen free trade years ending in 1860 their amount was \$3,400,000,000. In the fourteen years of protection that have just now closed it was \$6,600,000,000. The last three free trade years gave a total of 920,000,000. The last three of the protectionist years give \$1,985,000,000, being more than 100 per cent. increase accompanied by a growth of population not exceeding 50 per cent.

Domestic commerce causes the creation of local roads by aid of which the farmer is enabled at diminished cost of transportation to reach both the near and the distant markets, with constantly increasing power to choose between them. With each and every such improvement that commerce grows enabling both farmer and planter to become from day to day better customers to distant men whose lands produce tea, coffee, sugar, and other commodities for which their own soils, or climates, are not well fitted. That commerce, therefore, it is which constitutes the foundation on which a foreign commerce rests, and it is to Republican legislation that we stand now indebted for the gigantic proportions to which it already has attained. That foundation it is upon whose upheaval the party of destruction now is bent, absurdly believing that the superstructure would thereafter stand undisturbed.

But slight examination would be needed to satisfy them, did they desire to know the truth, that of the countries subjected to that British free-trade system upon which it is proposed we shall re-enter, there is not one that has a foreign or domestic commerce worthy of note; not one that is not now almost, even when not quite, in a state of financial ruin.

Commending the facts here given to your careful consideration, and fully believing our Democratic success must now, as it so nearly has been in the past, be fatal to continued existence of the Union,

I remain,

Very respectfully,

HENRY C. CAREY.

PHILA., Aug. 10, 1876.